42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Imeg

846
•515
783

in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of Ô dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamáwa*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of Ô dialect) that *mamáwa* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of Ô dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of Ô dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect; Karagawan: Bô dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basáú*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own; and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *maxaúdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent
[36] regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

42: Vanoverbergh F-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao CA5
Isneg

question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisnág*. *Bisnág* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisnág* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisnág certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisnág* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

42:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

775 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *inndt* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxáyxáy*).

[5/5] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwá*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *inndt* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwá*, if the *inndt* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwá* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwá* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwá* whose *inndt* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwá* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

765 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as
515 they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives
292 don their mourning apparel, they *magwáis*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-*; the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbat*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal*; pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* at Bolo; *arinosó*, at Bayag; *rinosó*, at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*mañgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners
201 go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw*'s husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of